1)Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



because the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an important social group.

In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all land creatures, hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again subdivided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages (*kainanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups. Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*kainanga*, *momo*, or *manga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

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period, organization was in terms of either moiety or patronage units. Village membership is the rule for town organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort fostered this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

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Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*maloma*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*potanga*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

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It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage membership of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

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Kennedy (1931:297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

stages of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent." This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

### Age Groups

Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineages or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa woman su i te tahalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakaalekiaki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *maina utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the oldest first-born child of the succeeding *maina ya* (tapu moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *maina utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kofolgaaua (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kainnoonoo (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Kaamoeto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te kamiki (children).
Tuumalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or bib): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kivataapulou: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called *loga* and *tamawawine*.
Tama and vaavine: married men and women, adults with families.
Matlwaka or tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.
Tupale: the old, gray-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general to kau matakau.

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To repair a break in the patrilineal line, one man who had himself been adopted out of his father's lineage adopted his sister's son, whom he gave to the lineage of his own blood father; one father who is adopted into a lineage not that of his own father has given his own son back to the lineage of his father, the child's paternal grandfather. In the first case the child lives with his adopted father, his maternal uncle, and is considered the *tama hoketi* of that man, but at death he will go to the cemetery of the adopted father's blood father. No ceremony accompanied the gift adoptions.

A woman has adopted a *tama hoketi* from her own relatives, and her husband has adopted a *tama hoketi* from his own relatives. They have arranged that at death the maternally adopted child is to be buried in the cemetery of the father, the paternally adopted child to be buried in the cemetery of the mother. The exchange is called *pauti*, and is apparently a type of gift motivated by sentiment. Some informants explained the matter as being, in some obscure manner, a double payment (*uei tuteki*).

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It is evidently a special personal arrangement. It took place some years ago, after a unique elopement to a distant small bay, where the couple remained hidden from the searchings of an irate husband. It is possible that special circumstances, coupled with the fact that the wife is barren, governed the exchange of children.

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In complete adoption, the paternal descent group of the adopted child is regularly changed to the lineage of the adopting father, unless he arranges to give the child to another lineage. The matter is somewhat different as regards the change of maternal descent line (*uaua*) of the adopted child. The cultural theory is that adopting parents have the right to change the maternal lineage of the *tama hoketi* to that of one of the adopting parents. Some informants thought the change should be to the lineage of the adopting mother. If the *tama hoketi* is a girl, according to these informants, her children will all belong to the maternal lineage of the adopting mother, unless at the time of the adoption an agreement is made with the adopted child's blood mother that some of the *tama hoketi's* children will revert to the blood mother's maternal lineage. In this agreement covering the adoption, the number of children and their sex who are to revert to the blood mother's lineage are specified so that no confusion later arises. Census material, however, includes three adopted children (in households 3, 5, 6), each a female, who became members not only of the adopting father's paternal lineage but of his (not his wife's) maternal lineage as well.

Two of these adopted girls are still unmarried and have no children. The third (household 3) is a widow whose own daughter, never adopted, is a member of the mother's own mother's maternal lineage, and not of the mother's adopted (father's) maternal lineage. Here the effect of lineage change is purely temporary, a matter of added membership to the father's maternal lineage during the adopted child's life. This enables her to share in the food and land divisions of the adopted lineage, but it will not by itself add to the vitality of the father's maternal descent line. That her children revert to the maternal lineage of their maternal grandmother repairs the break of one generation in that line of descent.

In theory, if his maternal lineage is dying out, a father may adopt one of his blood daughters into his own lineage. In this event, an arrangement would be made such that half of her children would continue to belong to the father's maternal lineage, while the other half would revert to the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



[611/613] maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

597 The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama hakoti* or *tama tangai*, and *matua hakoti* or *laay* or *matua tangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama hakoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

597 Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through 867 motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by putting the child when 578 he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. 593 Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

## KINSHIP

601 Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

2; Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116; for kinship terminology, rule of descent and avoidance relationships, see pp. 16-18.]